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754 (If a client, in his ignorance, is unfortunate enough to consult the same aremi who has served his persecutor, this fact is concealed by the aremi in question, who proceeds to do more harm to the victim.)

754 791 A piaiyen does not usually use his power to obtain revenge for other persons, but he may use it for his own purposes, that is, to obtain redress for an offense against himself. His procedure is as follows. He removes one of the small spirit stones (tarikano) from his maraka, swallows it, takes a long puff of tobacco smoke, and points his hand at the victim. If he wishes to kill, the stone passes entirely through the body of the victim; if he wishes merely to cripple, the stone remains in the victim's body. In either case the wound is invisible. It is part of the training of the piaiyen to learn the technique of shooting. Upon swallowing the missile, the piaiyen moves his left hand from his neck to the right elbow joint, where the missile is held as in the magazine of a gun. Several "shots" may be kept in this storage space just above the right elbow joint. It is believed that a tube somewhat like the barrel of a gun extends from the piaiyen's neck to the elbow joint, and from the latter point to a small opening between the bases of the first and second fingers. I have several times been shown small scars which purport to be openings for the missiles of this anatomical shooting apparatus. With the "shots" held above the elbow joint, the piaiyen, when ready for action, takes a long inhalation of tobacco smoke and extends the right forearm in the intended direction. The force of the smoke is believed to be the physical agency necessary for the ejection of the shot.

755 If a man suspects that he has been the target of a piaiyen, he may consult another piaiyen, who will endeavor to remove the object from the patient's body. Practically speaking, this means that the supposed victim feels pain in a certain part of his body. He goes to a piaiyen who explores the spot with his hand and locates the offending missile. He then blows tobacco smoke on the spot and sucks out the stone, if it is there. In case the stone has passed entirely through the body of the victim, the operator obtains only blood as the result of his efforts. This sucking can be done anywhere, but if the trouble continues, that is if the rival piaiyen shoots further stones into the body of the victim, the healing piaiyen and his patient retire into the toakai, or consulta-

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tion room made of palm leaves. Here the practitioner calls the spirit which is harming his patient. He tells the spirit that it must desist, otherwise he will call the tiger spirit, which will devour the offending spirit. The theory of the above described shooting process is this. Although the piaiyen is spoken of as shooting his victim, he ceases to be the active agent once he has convoked a spirit. The stones which are projected are used by the spirits in the same way in which arrows are used by human beings. The piaiyen is a passive agent at the service of the spirit.

Direct personal retribution for an offense may be used in cases where the culprit is caught red-handed. If a man surprises another committing adultery with his wife, immediate violence will be the result. Fists, cutlasses, bows and arrows, or guns will be employed. A good many petty grievances also come to blows, usually disputes arising during cassiri sprees. When a man is sober, he prefers to seek satisfaction in a more secret manner. It sometimes happens that, as a result of a fight, two settlements are officially at odds with one another; members of the respective settlements are forbidden by a consensus of opinion to have anything to do with those of the other. In case a member of one settlement transgresses this prohibition and enters into friendly relations with the other group, the headman of his own group may attempt to use either oral or physical coercion to enforce conformity.

Perhaps the most interesting of the forms of personal retribution is kanaima, a cult which is found among practically all of the Indians of the Guianas.[1]

If all other means of obtaining redress have failed, a man may decide to become a kanaima. This is a very serious step because it means that he must leave family and friends, must undergo extreme privations and social ostracism, must devote all his life and energies to the accomplishment of his purpose. The facts concerning this strange cult are difficult to determine because I have not succeeded in interviewing any individual who would admit having been a kanaima. This indicates that membership in the kanaima cult is itself an offense, while on the other hand it may be used as a path to punishment. The beliefs and attitudes concerning the cult are, however, herewith briefly set forth.

[1] Roth, 1915, *An Inquiry into the Animism and Folk-lore of the Guiana Indians*, Chap. 18. Farabee, 1924, *The Central Caribs*.

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carries for the purpose. When they have finished their work, the kanaimas disappear, leaving their victim to regain consciousness alone. After a time he picks himself up and goes home where he soon develops fever, has aching joints, and speedily dies. Due to the fact that he cannot or will not talk, the unfortunate sufferer's friends and relatives are able to obtain no particulars which would enable them to seek out the kanaimas. The work of the kanaimas can, however, usually be recognized by the blue finger marks on the body of the victim, bruises left by the kanaimas while manhandling him.

There is no cure for the fever and "bone ache" resulting from an encounter with kanaimas. The kanaimas must simply be avoided. A small beeswax image made in the shape of a man, if carried in the bush, enables one to spot the anaesthetizing spider web, and often the kanaimas themselves, before harm can be done. A certain plant with roots resembling a closed fist, if hung in the house, frightens kanaimas away. As an antidote for the black masi powder taken internally, the slimy inside bark of the congo pump tureke is made into an infusion and drunk. (Sarusaru congo pump is not used for this purpose.) If the kanaima has put the powder on the victim's skin, the black banana sucker (mekuru myu) is pounded, soaked in water, and applied to the skin. After the kanaima victim has died, further precautions must be taken. The kanaima, to complete his task, must visit the grave and suck the waters of decay from the body, usually through a hollow reed which is inserted into the ground. If the kanaima does not succeed in drinking the body liquids he will die a horrible death; they purify his body in some way after the perpetration of the outrage. To forestall the kanaima, the body may be wrapped in the leaves of the small banana (puma' bu), which are poison for kanaimas, but not for other persons. Or the juice of the haiari (a fish poison) is mixed with some of the body waters and placed in a bowl on the grave. A kanaima's one aim at this point is to drink some of the body juices, however this may be accomplished. Finding in a bowl on the grave some of these juices, the taste and odor of which completely obliterate the slight acridity of the haiari, the kanaima is believed to drink unsuspectingly and thus be deceived.

In comment upon the beliefs regarding kanaimas, it must be

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nected with the fact that it is extremely difficult to break the bones of one of these birds. Unburned warakabra feathers are also put on sprains. A wound or a fracture heals very quickly in the warakabra bird.

milk of the swizzle stick bush (ukuyapo aru epukuru). This is put in the eyes if white matter is being discharged from them.

slate or shells, pulverized and mixed with water, are used for sore eyes. The solution is dropped into the eye. This is not universal.

river oyster or periwinkle. The water inside the shell of the mollusc is sometimes squeezed into the ear for earache. This custom is not, however universal.

Less beneficial than the foregoing remedies is the Carib practice of immersing oneself in cold river or creek water if one is suffering from fever.

If medicinal treatment alone is not sufficient to disperse the spirits which are causing the illness of a patient, the piaiyen is consulted, on the understanding that he will be recompensed according to the manner which he will specify. The first task of the consultant is to determine which spirits are causing the trouble. To this end he retires into his toakai, drinks tobacco water, smokes tobacco cigarettes, and thus induces a trance which results in communication with the spirits with whom he is in contact, a communication which is accompanied by song and the shaking of the maraka. He questions them one by one to see if any one of them is concerned with the case. If so, he asks it to desist. If not, he asks if they know which spirit is responsible, and upon discovering the responsible spirit tries to establish communication with it so that he can persuade it to desist. Once he has discovered which spirit is causing the trouble, he repairs to the side of the patient with a bowl of cassiri, which is administered to the sufferer. Then he takes up a watch over the patient, which is punctuated by songs imploring the spirit in the case to leave the patient alone and reciting to the spirit the fact that the patient has never wilfully committed an offense against it. All medicine men stoutly maintain that they use no medicinal constituents in the drink which is administered to the patient, but most laymen, on the contrary, believe that they mix with the drink certain medicines which may have a beneficial effect. Failure to cure an illness is laid by the practitioner to the intractability of the spirit

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755 or spirits who are causing it; such failure is also often attributed by laymen, who in this tribe seem to be singularly realistic within the bounds of their philosophy, to the ineptitude of the piaiyen in establishing contact with the proper spirit.

846 **Couvade.** It is apparent that a Carib is surrounded by spiritual beings and forces on all sides, and in one way or another must be careful not to irritate them. The couvade is a case in point. For a week following his wife's accouchement, a Carib husband is required to stay about his house and not go into the bush. The theory is that the smell of the new-born infant clings to him for that length of time and announces the birth to akatombo, the evil spirits living in the bush, who take delight in causing the child to sicken. The father is not, however, required to stay in his hammock, although a man forced to stay in the house will usually be found in the hammock because that is the most comfortable place for him to rest. Neither does the Carib father simulate the pangs of childbirth. I suggest that reports given by travellers of certain tropical South American tribes, that the couvade requires that a father behave in the manner of a woman in childbirth, may have been based on just such evidence as that offered here: the father may have been observed in his hammock following the birth of the child, and it may have been assumed in some cases that he was undergoing a vicarious lying-in, whereas the actual facts were orientated to an entirely different ideology.

778 **Binas and Magical Practices in Hunting.** "Binas," according to Roth,[1] "are charms, plant, or animal, which effect their purpose by attracting the particular object or desire yearned for, whatever it may be — from the capture of an animal to the gratification of a wish. The real source of the term *bina* is from the Arawak *bia-bina*, meaning to 'entice, attract', etc." The Barama Carib word is turarari (Roth renders it turallari). When we come to the subject of binas, we are on the border line between religion and magic. Binas are strictly private, they are associated intimately with the law of similarity, and only in abnormal cases are the piaiyen involved in their use.

In Myth 3 (q. v.) we have a tale accounting for the origin of plant binas from the carcass of a huge snake, which agrees to a certain extent with the original tale given by Roth.[2] Even at the

[1] Roth, 1915. *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 281.
[2] Roth, 1915. *Animism and Folk Lore*, p. 283.

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784 a plant bina. Tabus which must be observed with plant binas, in
778 addition to those mentioned above applying to all binas, include secrecy and prevention of the accidental touching or handling of the plant by a woman. (Accidental touching or handling by another man does not result in spoilation.) Binas may be given away or sold, although this is very rarely done on account of the precarious nature of the results. The bina power may object to being thus bandied about and produce boils and other ailments for the discomfort of both the giver and the receiver.

755 If a man finds that his bina has spoiled (that is, if he has an ail-
778 ment which he feels may have been caused by an infringement of a bina tabu), he may be cured by a piaiyen. Alec, my interpreter, for instance, was once cured for a case of this sort which resulted in a skin eruption. "First the piaiyen blew tobacco smoke all over my head and then over my face. He was smoking a cigar of Carib tobacco. He passed the palm of his hand down over my face while he was smoking. He sang. The spirit of the krapo bina came to the piaiyen and told him what was the matter. The piaiyen sang, asking the spirit of the bina to come out of me. The spirit came out, I could not see it, but the piaiyen talked to it as it came out. He only talked and sang to the spirit. He did not suck me or do anything to me except blow tobacco smoke on me, pass his hand over my face, and talk and sing to the spirit. He did this three nights. During three days I could eat no meat. The piaiyen gave me cassava and birds, mostly mamm and powis, but no other kinds of game. I paid the piaiyen with two yards of cloth. I got so I could see better in a few days."

832 A number of love charms are in use. Those of which I know are used only by men, although women also are said to use analogous charms of love. All are roots bearing an alleged resemblance to the male sex organs. One is to be mixed with oil and rubbed on the hair of the suitor. When near the lady he passes his hand through his hair and manages to touch the lady with it. Another is surreptitiously mixed with the damsel's face-paint. A third can be rubbed unmixed on anything which she would be likely to touch. No unfavorable results of a medical nature are to be expected from the clumsy or ill-advised use of these charms, although embarrassment and ridicule follow discovery. Failure of the charm to win the girl's heart is attributed to improper methods